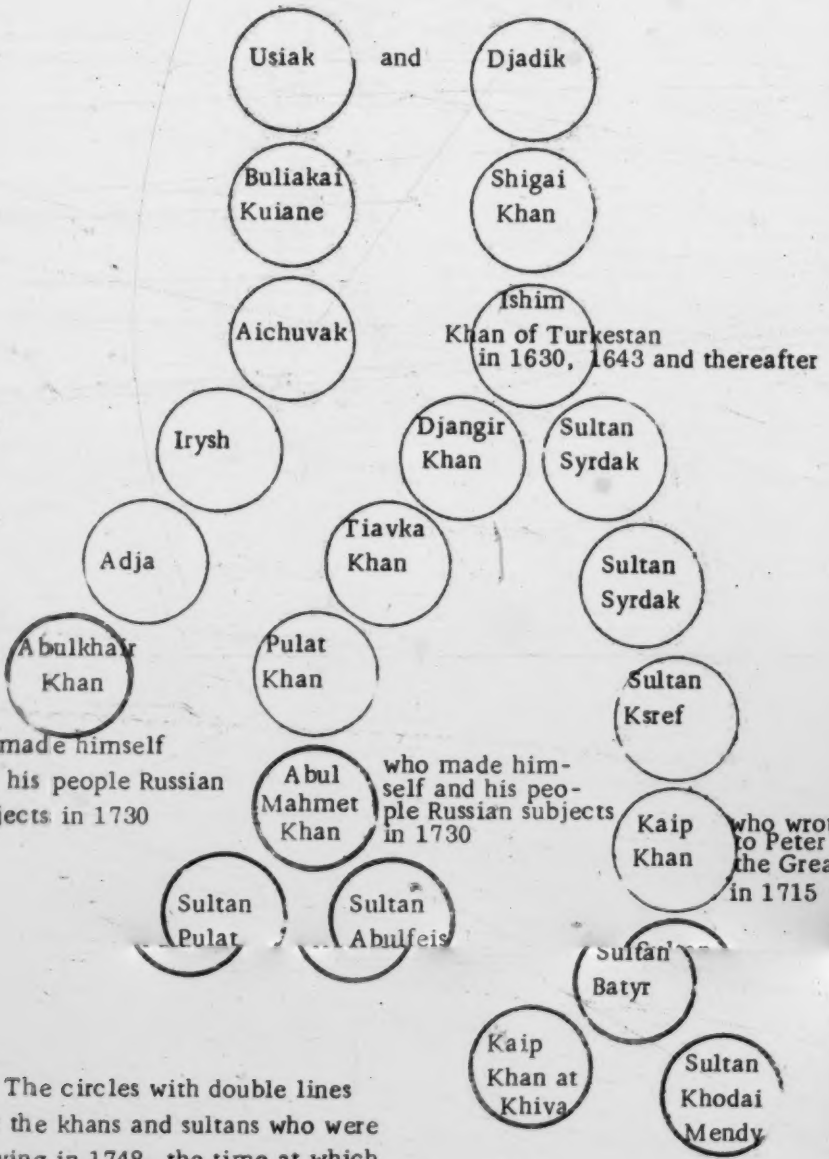
5: Levchine--182 G-4, 5 (ca. 1821) 1840 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

Plate 2

Chart I

173
643
613

Genealogy of the First and Main Branch of the Kirghiz-Kazak Khans
(The earliest founders of the descent groups are two brothers)



636
648

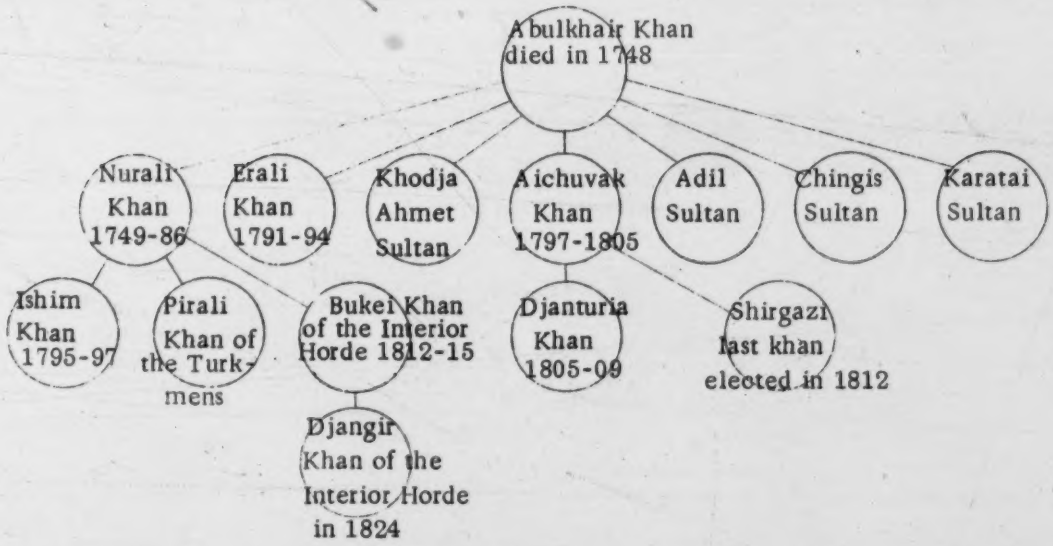
Note: The circles with double lines are for the khans and sultans who were still living in 1748, the time at which these charts were made up.

173
H43
175
613

5: Levchine--184 G-4, 5 (ca. 1821) 1840 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

Plate 4

Supplement to Chart I Prepared in 1824
Khan Abulkhair's Descendants



Note: All these khans governed the Middle Horde. No mention is made here of the sultans who are sons or grandsons of Abulkhair. They are so numerous that a list of their names would unnecessarily weary the readers.

5: Levchine--188 G-4, 5 (ca. 1821) 1840 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

Tamghas Plate 8

or

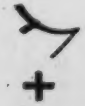
212
● 613
619

Marks Used by the Kirghiz-Kazaks
By way of Signatures and Seals

In the Little Horde

Descent Lines*	Marks or Stamps	Descent Lines	Marks or Stamps
Chikli		Mashkar	
Karakisiak		Tazlar	
Chumiakei		Cherkes	
Durt Kara		Tabyn	
Adai		Cama	
Djapas		Kerderi	
Alacha		Djagalbaiuli	
Berch		Kereit	

In the Middle Horde

Keipchasky		Uvaksky	
Naimansky		Kireisky	

[*The following are tribes according to the text.--Ed.]

descent which unite the Kazakhs as a people also divide them into aristocrat and commoner, noble and subject. There are three identifiable social classes, aristocrats, commoners, and slaves. (The slaves are an important class in traditional Kazakh society, but are not central to the discussion here.) At some point in history, the senior descent line segregated itself from the other lines and achieved aristocratic status. The head of the senior family of the senior descent line is the Khan of all the Kazakhs—so goes the theory of Kazakh kinship and social organization.

These aristocratic descent lines formed the ruling strata of the hordes, the clans, and of all Kazakhdom when they were united. From their ranks came the khans and lesser leaders (sultans, begs, and clan chiefs) by right of first-born descent. Hordes were ruled by descent lines, clans by aristocratic lineages.

The supreme ruler of the Kazakhs, when there was one, bore the title of Khan. Sultans in Central Asia are of lower rank, the equivalent of princes. The Kazakh domain, when split, divided into a number of principalities whose rulers were sultans, even though some of them dared to assign themselves the more grandiose title of khan. A sultan was rarely a sovereign or independent ruler. The begs and clan chiefs were sometimes identical, but the beg was a local leader whose region varied in scope; it might be no larger than a village or a group of villages, or it might be larger than a clan.

Kin villages and families likewise had their individual patriarchal leaders. The lineage, however, is a different type of organization. It did not have a chief or center of patriarchal authority unless it was small enough for all its members to live in one large kin village; yet it could be so large as to be identical in size with a clan, in which case it would be ruled by a clan leader. The primary function of the lineage was to serve as a marriage unit, the genealogies once again providing the basis for the practices adopted. Kazakh boys and girls could not marry if they had a common male ancestor in the seventh generation; with kinship in the eighth degree or higher marriage was permitted. The genealogy traced back to the seventh ascending male ancestor is the smallest lineage of the Kazakh. The lineage is a unit of varying scope, depending on the function involved; the lineage for marital purposes comprised seven generations, the genealogy memorized by an individual many times that.[1]

Each clan had a distinctive manner of marking the ears of or branding its livestock to differentiate the stock from that of other clans. However, the clan was not the property-owning unit. The clan leader might step in and make a decision regarding a pasturage or head of cattle in dispute between two villages, for the judicial authority rested ultimately in his hands; his decisions might appear biased in his favor, but he could not permanently dispose of pasturage or stock which was not his own, even though it bore the brand or earmark of the clan he led. Similarly, until collectivization, the village authority rested in the hands of a village elder who served as a judge, but rarely could the judge dispose of property which was not his own.[2]

[1]Grodekov, 1889, p. 27; Alyoshin, 1870, p. 104.

[2][for footnote see cat. 116, f. 41 - ANALYST.]

621 [627]

under the direction of the village leader. The leader and the elders decided all questions concerning village activities. The administration of justice was in the hands of the elders, while the enforcement of decisions was a common village enterprise; thus the village peace was kept. The raw framework of the village collectivity moved as a unit into the Soviet era.

582 613

The Kazakh lineage supplied the basis for the practice of marrying outside the group. The lineage occupied a common territory, and during the course of the past century the unit of common residence rather than the unit of descent and kinship has served to regulate marriage. Wives are sought outside the village; girls leave their native villages to join their husband's people, although this may not involve moving a great distance. The lineage is today generally identical with the village, and under the Soviet regime, with the collective farm. There is today the practice of kolkhoz exogamy.[1]

621 [494]

595 [627]

The practice of polygamy has likewise proved compatible with Soviet conditions. In former times, the many-wived family was the family of the well-born, the rich, the influential; today, the many-wived family is that of the village leader, the kolkhoz president, the brigade foreman. The leviratic marriage of the widow to the brother of the deceased or to another close kinsman has also accommodated itself to Soviet conditions, within the framework of the extended family, for among the peoples of the steppe this practice depends upon and reinforces the extended family structure. In Kazakhstan, the extended family rests on the close integration of several fraternal households and the conjugal families of a father and his sons and at times even grandsons.

596 [587]

595 [587]

The Soviet ideological campaign has directed attention to the practice of polygamy among leading elements in Kazakh collective farms; similarly, a number of reports indicate that leviratic marriage is still practiced. Soviet ethnographers do not discuss these institutions from the standpoint of the functions of the Kazakh extended family and the Kazakh village community. Instead, they have made a political issue out of what they are pleased to call the survival of the feudal mores. But they choose to ignore the fact that the practices which they condemn are part and parcel of the existing family and village system.

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The status of women in Kazakhstan is a serious question to Soviet ideologists. In 1944, in 1949, and again in 1951, the Kazakh Party leadership was briefed by the Central Committee in Moscow regarding the participation of Kazakhs, of Kazakh women, and of literate and educated people in the Kazakh Communist Party (see Chapter 6, which deals with the Party). That the program has evidently fallen short of plan is suggested by the repetition of the instructions. The Kazakhs are not coming forward for training in Party work, despite the fact that they are periodically encouraged to do so, and despite the prestige and material advantages of Party membership. And the women lag behind the men in this respect.

Party work, despite the fact that

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Woman's position in Kazakh society, and the Soviet failure to understand the background of this position, has important consequences in the

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 86.

649 Again, each clan had a war cry, or uran, whereby it identified itself in battle, at great gatherings, and so forth. Such an uran was the name of the clan ancestor, and thus evoked the glory of the clan, intensifying the feeling of membership in the tradition of him who raised the cry.[77] The relation of the clan to principles of exogamy will be discussed below in a more general treatment of the rules of marriage.

[726]

● 613 The lineage in the Great Horde, as elsewhere among the Kazakhs, is a corporate structure, but does not fulfill the criteria for the corporation[1/1] as closely as do the clan or the extended family. Thus, it lacks the firm locus of authority possessed by other social units of an analogical corporate type; moreover, its "charter" is derivative of the clan charter--the genealogy. Nevertheless, it was during the 19th century a more active social unit than the clan, since the latter was moribund, and it entered more intimately into the every-day life of the Kazakhs. The lineage was a unit of varying scope, by which is meant two things: first, the actual composition in living members; second, the number of generations

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[77] Izraztsov, 27. Cf. Balliuzek, 164: "For the distinction of each of his friends under attack by foreign clans, to give him courage in attacking the enemy,... to invoke aid...there is a special signal called uran and consisting of the names of the clan ancestor or of later distinguished ancestors...." The English "hurrah!" is a derivation of the term uran.

1/1 [Cf. cat. 116, AHI Mongolia, p. 389, for these criteria--Analyst]

[Great Horde]

•613 which it counted back to its founder. One of its most important, if not its most important, functions was to define the unit of exogamy. Otherwise put, the lineage was co-terminous with the exogamic unit, which counted usually, but not always, seven generations.

Grodekov maintained that marriage was forbidden between patrilineally related kinsmen up to the seventh generation. His informant, one Khalmahammad, was a local elder and judge in the Great Horde. Others informed Grodekov on the contrary that marriages took place between couples in the related fourth or even the third remove, reckoned exclusively in the paternal line. In his same statement he mentions that the Kara-Kirgiz used to reckon the prohibited degree of marriage to relation through the father in the fifth remove; whereas in his day, the 1880's, the Shariat permitted marriage even in the second degree.[78]

If these were the only data available, it would indeed appear that the Kazakhs had once had a rule of exogamy forbidding marriage between agnatic kin descended from an ancestor who was fewer than eight generations removed from the prospective spouses, a rule which had then broken down into a more chaotic picture under acculturative conditions. But the record is complicated,

[illegible]

[78] Grodekov, 27.

613 and Grodekov's observations are not universally true. Thus, in another part of the Great Horde, during the same period, the 1870's and 1880's, Izrastsov notes that marriage between those removed in the eighth or ninth degree of kinship was rare, if not forbidden, and as a rule, such marriage was avoided by any consanguines related in the male line.[79] There is more than a mere difference in generation count between these two more or less contemporary reports of the rule of exogamy in the Great Horde. There is a difference in principle. The second record cited indicates no fixed number of generations, but rather a fluid situation and the dominance of a central tendency instead of a definite practice. Moreover, we learn an interesting bit of folklore from Izrastsov: the Kazakhs explain their aversion to marriage between kin who are related by fewer than eight or nine removes from a common male ancestor through the belief that such marriages would be without issue.[80]

In the same district in which Grodekov drew his data, an observer in the 1920's noted that the units of exogamy were the named sibs. Now this could not be the case if Grodekov had made an observation of general validity. Without disparagement to Grodekov, who was an accu-

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[79] Izrastsov, 70.

[80] Idem.

[Great Horde]

W3 rate and detailed ethnographer, especially in matters of law-ways, it may be pointed out that a rule of seven prohibited degrees cannot work in named units, because the head of the lineage would be shifting downward every generation, always seven generations behind, so that in the last analysis, if there had been n generations, there would have been n-minus-6 lineage heads, and the name of the unit would be changing every generation.

A later visitor to the Great Horde, Shmidt, writes that all the exogamic units he noted were the named sibs. In fact, the situation was more complex, because of the enormous strain and reshuffling that had taken place in Kazakh life through acculturation over two or even more generations. His notations were the following: in his district, near Chimkent, there were two clans of the Great Horde, one, the Sergele, the other, the Shegir. The Sergele was divided into nine lineages, each one identified by a name; but there were only six exogamic units among the Sergele, for three former lineages had combined to form one sib, two had combined to form another, and only four lineages were large enough to constitute independent exogamic units. As for the other clan, the Shegir, while theoretically of equal status with the Sergele, it was itself an exogamic unit, because all the former lineages had combined into one, the sib itself. And the same might be said of the clans

[Great Horde]

213 and lineages of the Middle and Little Hordes as well.[81]

Levshin's material, which dates from the 1830's, falls in line with the Grodekov picture, for Levshin likewise describes lineage exogamy. Thus a Kazakh of the Great Horde in the 1830's married outside his lineage, and preferably outside his clan as well.[82] This is the earliest relevant body of data, but it is unfortunately the most schematic, with only the barest outlines of the exogamic picture. Nevertheless, taking it in conjunction with later and fuller reports we may infer that the Kazakh lineage in the 19th century was the exogamic unit, and if the latter was subject to considerable amount of variation as to the number of generations it comprised, and if a named unit was only sometimes discovered, it was because the lineage itself was not a fixed entity. The lineage is to be regarded as an operational concept, functioning principally in the establishment of the limits of prohibited marriage, and was subject to local variation. The exogamic principle among the Kazakhs was subject to a certain amount of variation, within limits, for none of the versions of the rule are far from each other. And the variations may be explained by local conditions, such as male to female ratio, population trends regarding fer-

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[81] Shmidt, 314.

[82] Levchine, 364.

•613 tility, mortality, in-migration--all factors bearing on the survival of the group; and the limits within which variation was permitted were set by the mores of the group, that is, the disposition to accept certain variations on a principle, and to reject others. The lineage was, moreover, a more fluid entity than the family, which too had a biological as well as a moral basis for stability. Below, another variant on the lineage-exogamic structure will be cited, as reported for the Little Horde.

[80] The number of generations involved in any given statement regarding the rule of exogamy, and the extent of the lineage, may be influenced by what constitute propitious or magical numbers. For example, seven is a magical number among the Kazakhs and elsewhere both in Islam and in Asia generally.[83]

178 61 The evidence of Izraatsov and Shmidt point to an entirely different principle of social structure, one that has been encountered among the Kalmiks. At some time toward the end of the 19th century, and fully underway during the 20th, the clan and lineage structure of the Kazakhs gave way to a system of named sibs, whereby the rule of prohibited degrees no longer functioned directly to define the unit of exogamy. As early as Izraatsov's day, the sib was the unit of exogamy, i.e., an

Izraatsov

[83] Cf. Dingelstedt, 148: "Whoever does not know his ancestors to the seventh generation is a renegade," according to a Kazakh proverb.

178 exogamic unit comprising an entire body of agnatic kin,
61 without reference to the number of removes. This picture is fully achieved, apparently by Shmidt's day, some fifty years later. The sib is a flat structure, without temporal depth; in it, one does not reckon generations to determine eligibility to marry or not. Also it contrasts sharply with the clan and lineage structure, first, by virtue of the different time-conceptions in the two, second, by the fact that the principle of the sib name was the concept operative in determination of exogamy, thus yielding different principles of exogamy generally. The sib is not composed of lineages as the clan is, and if such units are found, it may be because the process of transition from one structural mode to another has not been completed. The correlates of the transition process among the Kazakhs are the same as those for the Kalmuks and the Monguor: change in economy from herding to agriculture mixed with herding, and change in political-administrative organization of the society under Russian influence, comparable to the Chinese influence among the Monguor.

●613 The Kazakh lineages were in turn divided into sub-lineages, which formed a series of units set off from other similar units through common interests over a period of time. Not only descent, but mutual protection, aid and support in social conflict, adjudication, or material want, held these sub-lineages together. Each had

613 an elder, called bii, who was respected for the seniority of his line of descent within the group, the authoritativeness of his judgment, and his age. Conflicts within a lineage would be smoothed over by agreements among the individual biis, each one representing the rights of his sub-lineage. The authority of the biis depended on their relations both to their followers and to one another; some through their individual personalities could resolve the profoundest oppositions.[84]

613 622 554 The bii's scope of authority was thus variable; moreover, his "jurisdiction" was also variable: for the same term was applied to the elder or most respected man in a sub-lineage, in a village, or any small-scale formation generally. Several smaller, sub-lineages might combine to form a new lineage under the leadership of an influential bii, taking on the name of that man who led and represented the new formation. But the bii's power was rarely if ever recognized unconditionally, and according to the European notion, his office was to some extent a usurpation since there was no chiefly office.[85] However, this is somewhat far-fetched, since he performed important social functions in the resolution of conflicts and the adjudication of disputes; his social status, however, was founded on consanguineal, and not politico-administrative relations, hence Radlov's idea that his office was a usurpation.

[84] Radloff, Aus Sibirien, I, 514.

[85] Idem.

[Great Horde]

583 Bride abduction from another Kazakh family was
582 rare, especially against the will of the girl. On the other hand, it was not unusual to steal women from the Kalmuks and the Kara-Kirgis, for whom there was a flourishing market, since the price for these women was less than the kalym.[148] However, women abducted and married by the Kazakhs of the Great Horde had little if any difference in status from Kazakh women; they retained their own religion without infringement, and occupied the same legal and economic position in the family; nevertheless, non-Kazakh women had no consanguines to turn to. The legal personality of the wife could never rise to that of the husband, however: for example, she could not bear witness in the adjudication of disputes, nor could she take an oath.[149] The exclusion of wives from the legal
671 process may be accounted for in the following manner:
672 the judicial process rested on the support which a bii
• 673 could give to his kinsmen in dispute with other kin groups; that is, the bii's jurisdiction was his patrilineal descent group. The law in general was a matter of normative adjustment and balance between or among three agnatically related kin groupings. We have further seen that a wife never fully joined her husband's patri-

[148] Ibid., 81, 91.

[149] Ibid., 68.

[on the bii or "elder," cf. Cat. 116, AHI Mongolia, pp. 411-412 -- Analyst]

[Great Horde]

lineage; that she always retained ties, spiritual and legal, to her natal family. Hence, since the law was a matter of membership in specific corporate structures, the wife could not participate since she was not a member: she could not join her husband's, and she lived away from her father's.

In divorce, the woman operated at a distinct disadvantage to the man, but she was not entirely without rights. The husband could divorce his wife with ease, at will, merely by sending her back to her family.[150] But the wife had grounds at her disposal for the initiation of a divorce proceeding: if the husband was impotent or if he had left her for twelve months without sending news of himself, the wife could ask for a divorce.[151] More important were the considerations which militated against the husband's arbitrary use of his power, and which protected the woman: the husband who divorced his wife lost all claim to the kalym;[152] the provisions for disposal of the property (dotalia and arrha sponsalitia) were agreed on in the marriage arrangements.[153] Divorce was in any case a rare occurrence:

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[150] Dingelstedt, 155; Izraztsov, 92.

[151] Izraztsov, loc. cit. Dingelstedt, loc. cit., mentions seven years, not one year, as the necessary period for recognition of husband's desertion as grounds for divorce.

[152] Izraztsov, loc. cit.

[153] Dingelstedt, loc. cit.

586 a family would see to it that the husband would not get rid of the woman who was valuable both for her fertility and for her capacities as a worker, and it took place as a rule only if the woman were incurably ill, or for like reasons.[154]

587 In the event that the husband was known to be impotent, the wife took a second husband from the family of the first--"in order not to have discredit cast upon her in the eyes of others." The new husband paid a kalym called the kalym of kinship, which was materially lower than that of the original kalym, and whose ratio was in inverse proportion to the degree of consanguinity between the two men concerned. The children of the divorced couple remained with the family of the first husband, but a son who was of age had the right of choosing among his kin; also, an eldest daughter could often follow her mother.[155] Among the wealthy, there was usually no question of divorce, since a husband could easily afford another wife.

[586]

Criminal Law in its Relation to the Kinship System

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● 613 A distinction between theft of cattle--rustling--in general and seizure from specified kinsmen--baranta--

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[154] Izrastsov, loc. cit.

[155] Pingelstedt, loc. cit.

[Great Horde]

681 602 613 was made in Kazakh legal practices. A number of distinctions likewise existed in the punishments for taking a life. No provision was made for repressive punishment, the only practice known was restitution if it was determined that a wrong had been committed. The penalty involved was the payment of a whole or a part of a kun or wergeld. The basic kun, mentioned above, was 200 baital (baital is a horse in good condition, or the equivalent). This might vary somewhat; for example, the kun in the vicinity of what is today Alma Ata was 200 horses, 100 sheep, and a camel, or roughly 225 baital (five sheep equalled one baital, a camel equalled five baital) toward the end of the 19th century. The taking of a woman's life, other than one's wife, required the payment of half a kun.[156]

If a man was killed in a fight or in a raid, only a partial kun was paid. Of significance to the kinship system in relation to the criminal proceedings is the fact that there was always voluntary aid by the kin of a murderer, even if the murderer were wealthy, and could afford the amount himself. On the other hand, if the murderer and his kin could not make up the sum among them, wider circles of kinsmen were called in, contributing in proportion to the degree of closeness of kinship,

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[156] Izrastsov, 12.

681 provided the man was of good standing in his community.[157] If the sum could not be made up by these means, it was made up by giving the daughter in marriage to a descendant of the victim, provided the daughter was not yet betrothed. It was stated, although how much meaning may be attributed to it is far from clear, that the making over of from two to four daughters could stand in lieu of a kun.[158]

The implication of such payments and the participation of the kin involved is that it is one lineage which is indemnifying another lineage for the loss of a member. The fact that a daughter could be given in partial quittance of a wergeld indicates that the offending lineage recognized that it had endangered the continuity of another and the daughter offered was a means of meeting that danger. The Turks of the Orkhon-Yenisei, it will be recalled, offered a daughter in payment for the putting out of an eye; it is possible that this practice had a similar meaning.

The recipient of the wergeld, i.e., the injured lineage, distributed it in a significant fashion: on receipt of the full amount, the kin of the victim (the sub-lineage as a rule) took one-half, which it further

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[157] Ibid., 13.

[158] Ibid., 14.

[Great Horde]

681 distributed among the elders of the clan or lineage, etc.
602 The remaining half was further divided, part being dis-
613 tributed among the more distant kin of the victim; how much was thus given out was up to the family of the victim, but it was impossible to give nothing. A slighted kinsman would appeal to the elders of the community, and was given a share of the kun proportional to the closeness of kinship. The remainder was divided among the sons of the victim, or if there were none, among the next of agnatic kin.[159]

177.68 The unit for payment[1] after the reorganization of
681 Kazakh society under Russian impact was the aul; despite
621 the composition of the village at this time by segments of various lineages, it continued to act through a convenient fiction as though it were a unitary kin group. Support for payment of the kun was drawn from neighbors within the aul and from the kinsmen, both of whom were treated sociologically as a unit. If the guilty refused to pay, then the lineage or the clan, now settled in a volost', simply raided the guilty man's herds and made seizure of the requisite amount.[160]

The biis[2] would often require that kin in the seventh
622 602 degree of agnatic kinship take the oath in support of the
695 accused. By this was meant, if the man were adjudged
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177. 69

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[159] Idem.

[160] Radloff, op. cit., I, 525.

[1] [i.e. of wergeld; cf. cat. 116, AHI Mongolia, p. 448ff. -- Analyst]

[2] [on the biji, cf. cat. 116, AHI Mongolia, pp. 411-412 -- Analyst]

guilty, the kin up to the seventh degree would be required to support him in the payment of the indemnity. Such a proceeding took place in 1885, some years after the Russian conquest, and represents a certain hardening of the judicial practice; nevertheless, this hardening was precisely of those features observable in Kazakh society in the previous era. The power of the bii's decree now had the force of a court sentence, backed up by an absolute coercive instrument: a police system, a state mechanism, and so forth; but the person of the bii, and his kinship and social relations were more or less the same as before. The number of degrees of kinship recognized in a judgment were now fixed, but they were the same relationships which had been more vaguely defined in the preceding era.[161] Moreover, the entire proceeding was reported by an officer of the court to the Russian authorities; this signalizes the fact that the judges now had to bear in mind how the Russian provincial administration would respond to a judgment of a certain sort. Nevertheless, from all this we may see how vital the principle of kinship remained in the processes of adjudication, even under conditions of acculturation. We may observe how considerations of kinship operated in the legal process; and how legal data are significant in the interpretation of the consanguineal system.

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[161] Dingelstedt, 520.

614 lationship and patrilineal descent. It was composed of patrilineages.

●613 The lineage in turn was based upon the agnatic principle; the lineage is defined in terms of a fixed number of generations counting from its founding ancestor; it had a personality as a socio-legal unit, and a corporate structure. The last is a defective category, because several attributes of the corporate unit were better exemplified in the clan, the village and the extended family. The lineage functioned as the unit of exogamy. The lineage was defined by a specific number of generations in a given locality, but subject to a certain amount of variation within a small range from place to place.

582 In the Little Horde a family head sought a wife for his son or for his younger brother only in a family which shared a common ancestor in the eighth ascending generation or higher, according to a report of the 1870's.[179] Elsewhere among the Kazakhs, a common ancestor in the seventh ascending generation, or again in the fifth, or again in the ninth was the basis for marriage eligibility or prohibition.

582 The Kazakhs on the Mangyshlak peninsula, on the
613 eastern shore of the Caspian, had a different rule of

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[179] Altynsarin, 104.

[Little Horde - Mangyshlak Kazaks]

582 643 exogamy around the turn of the century. It was forbidden to take a wife from one's own kin group. According to Karutz, all the Kazakhs on Mangyshlak peninsula at this time were descended from a certain Adai who migrated to Mangyshlak from the northern part of the territory of the Little Horde. Adai had two sons, Kudaike and Kelembede, who were the founders respectively of two exogamous lineages, of which Kudaike's was the senior in rank. Karutz's informant was descended in the tenth generation from Kelembede, and hence was in the cadet lineage and had to seek a wife among the women descended from Kudaike.[180] A case might be made out for the analysis of this kin structure as a sib; indeed the Adai descent-group is typologically transitional between lineage and sib; but the sub-lineages are ranked, exogamous, and the basis for both ranking and exogamy is a detailed genealogy. Exogamy here is not on the basis of name alone; hence the classification as lineage and the implied clan structure.

The requirement to take a wife removed in the tenth degree from oneself is the most extreme rule of exogamy found among the Kazakhs. It can only be regarded as the result of special conditions operating: a group of people who had migrated to a new locality had preserved the unity of the group intact over eleven generations, re-

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[180] Karutz, Von Kirgisischer Hochzeit, 37.

[Little Horde - Mangyshlak Kazaks]

•613 582 tained a full oral tradition of the origins and history of the group, and consciousness of membership. The entire group, the descendants of Adai, formed a major or maximal patrilineage, and was further subdivided into two exogamic [101] minimal or sub-lineages. These Kazakhs of the Little Horde occupied a peninsula of the eastern shore of the Caspian, and were somewhat isolated from the rest of the Kazakh world by stretches of true desert lying immediately to the east and south; the very isolation tended to stabilise the internal group relations over time, making for the exogamic practices founded on the maximal lineage and minimal lineage structures here described. We [614] may note in passing that something approaching a moiety situation is implied by the report,[1] but we do not know whether the entire Adai line was endogamous, taking wives from among themselves alone.

613 The lineage exogamy which has been posited theoretically may be applied to the minimal or sub-lineage equally. The division of clans into major maximal lineages, and these further into minimal or sub-lineages is dependent on locally operative conditions. The Inner or Buksi Horde composed still further variations on this theme.

The lineage founded by Adai exemplifies another structural principle of steppe society, that of formation by fission, by splitting away. Adai, the lineage ancestor, had once been a member of another lineage; but

[1] [cf. cat. 114, AHI Mongolia, pp. 466-467 -- Analyst]

[Little Horde—Mangyshlak Kazaks]

•613 at a point in the past put at eleven generations by his descendants he moved with his family to a new locality. We are not told where his immediate descendants looked for their wives, and must infer that for several generations they formed a single lineage with a taboo on inmarriage. Possibly Adai and his descendants could take wives from the people where Adai's original kinsmen had taken their wives. In any case, with the passage of generations, in the course of lineage time, his descendants came to recognize themselves as Adai's line of descent, as a distinct entity. The final stage in the process was the formation in the course of further generations two sub-lineages, ranked as senior and junior, tracing descent from the two sons of Adai. These two sub-lineages, in conformity with the minimal criterion of degrees of relationship, came to reckon themselves as mutually exogamous, and were permitted to intermarry. Because of favorable conditions of lineage stability, possibly based on their isolatedness, these minimal criteria were made maximal, for ten generations is the longest count we have. We cannot say whether the entire lineage was endogamous, whether, that is, they formed two inter-marrying moieties, but we can point out a classical instance of lineage fission, and a further process of splitting into minimal or sub-lineages formed in the time-process itself, i.e., in the passage of the

10: Kazakr 8-4 [no date] 1869 AHI Mongolia Kazak HQ2

[Little Horde_ Mangyshlak Kazaks]

● 613 ganaxations.

Finally, attention should be drawn to the workings of another structural principle: the ranking of the minor or sub-lineages according to the priority of birth of the founder by virtue of the principle of differential inheritance and succession.

The Village in the Little Horde

621 Meyendorff made a journey from Orenburg in the southern Ural mountains to Bukhara in the year 1820. In the territory of the Little Horde he encountered a village which was the camp of a great Kazakh chief. By comparison with other villages, Meyendorff accounted this one a large village, containing fifty tents, grouped in clusters of from three to six tents each. He passed through this aul in the month of October, presumably when these pastoralists had gathered together in their winter camp after the summer dispersal.[181]

Radlov has reported that the typical Kazakh aul was composed of from fifty to seventy tents;[182] here it is

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[181] Meyendorff, 14.

177.62 621 [182] Radloff, Aus Sibirien, I, 518. By Radlov's day there had already taken place the administrative reform mentioned above, namely, the reorganisation of villages into volosti integrated into the Turkestan governor-generalcy. By then, too, the office of village elder had become appointive, and was no longer an expression of prestige through birth or wealth alone.

[Inner Horde]

601 Khan Bukei was related to all the other members
625 of his clan and horde through real or assumed descent
619 from a common ancestor. But Bukei was at the same time
162 a descendant of Chingis Khan directly, and a descendant of a junior line of Abul-Hayr. His horde because of its recent formation,[1] small size, and relative instability, retained many features of clan structure which it had until recently possessed. It was divided into two estates: the white bone and the black. As to the white bone, ak sŭök, we have somewhat more detailed data as to its composition than for the other hordes. It had three components in the Inner Horde, according to data gathered in 1849-1850, in addition to the direct senior descendants of the Khan himself; these were descendants of Khan Bukei in the junior line, clan leaders, and aristocrats without duties, all of whom totalled to about 200 ak sŭök, 88 percent falling in the last category, those without duties, i.e., junior aristocratic lines,[229] exclusive of Khan Bukei's cadet line, who formed a separate noble category.

●613 Among the lineage names of this time, familiar
162 ones appear, such as the lineage of Adai, homonymous with the one visited by Karutz on the Mangyshlak peninsula about fifty years later. These lineages ranged in number of families from 120 to 5000; and counting the

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[229] Ibid., 11.

[1] [i.e. in 1800; cf. Cat. ms, AHI Mongolia, p. 491 -- Analyst]

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162 aristocracy as a lineage, they numbered eighteen. Of these, ten numbered between 120 and 900 families; four numbered between 1100 and 1500 families; three contained between 2600 and 3200 families, and one had 5000.[230] These lineage figures indicate the range in the number of people who considered themselves close agnatically. There is the consanguineal tie recognized by all Kazakhs, and that which is recognized by members of a given horde. There is finally a consanguinity vaguely recognized between a member of a clan bearing the name Kongrad among the Uzbeks, and the Kongrad clan of the Kazakhs. But closeness of relationship in the paternal line such as is found within lineages and measured by the functions that such a grouping has, is not found among the larger units. One might marry outside one's clan, or even outside one's horde; but the real exogamic unit was the lineage, whether major (maximal) or minor (minimal); the lineage members supported each other and their bii in humble matters, such as the supplying of an oath-taker or a witness in a dispute, supporting the judgment of the bii, helping to pay a major or minor indemnity; making common cause against rustlers or feuding parties; dividing and sharing pasturages; and so forth. For these reasons, it was important to know how many kinsmen a man had for purposes of the daily life of the community;

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[230] Idem.

613 and it was likewise important to know what the range
162 was within which these kin groupings fell. It is impor-
[161] tant to know that the population density of the Bukei Horde was 0.2 per sq. km. of their lands actually in use for the greater part of the year, including their own and leased lands; that the figure is slightly lower, 0.17 per sq. km., if the useless lands (arid, sandy, salty, etc.) and the disputed lands (with the Ural or New-Line Cossacks) are taken into account.[231] These figures are not only of interest for demographic, economic or ecological purposes; they are of interest in the study of kinship, for they indicate the limits within which close kin may be reckoned, they tell us how low the number may fall before the lineage members will seek to fuse with another group, and how high the number may reach before the group will divide into two or more by the process of fission. Thus, number itself relates significantly to kinship principles and to social structural principles.

233 These numerical data[1] must in their turn be brought
613 together with other data, to answer still further questions: were the Inner or Bukei Horde Kazakhs herders like their Kalmuk, and Little Horde neighbors, like the Khalkha Mongols, etc.? For example, two Bukei Horde groups in the vicinity of the Caspian Sea in 1852 show

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[231] Ibid., 12.

[1] [cf. cat. 11b, AHI Mongolia, pp. 491-495 for context -- Analyst]

herding ratios comparable to those of the Mongols:[232]

Sheep/Goats	Cattle	Horses	Camels
72%	12%	10%	6%

Another series of herd ratios for the Bukei Horde for the period 1849-1850 is comparable to these:[233]

Sheep/Goats	Cattle	Horses	Camels
72%	9%	14%	5%

These data bear evidence to the fact that we are dealing with the same type of society. Moreover, we see changes in ratio indicating changes in herd strength, indicating the perils of steppe life, that the pastoralist is at the mercies of natural forces. Thus, three severe winters (1846-1849) caused an over-all drop of 25 percent in the herds.[234] And we gain thereby a closer understanding of the factors making for instability of life on the steppe; the rise and fall of herds is a factor making for the dissolution and recombination of social groups in pastoral societies.

Clan and Lineage of the Inner Horde

The clan in the Inner Horde was divided into lineages called taifa, and the lineage in turn was divided into sub-lineages (or major lineages into minor ones)

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[232] Ibid., 40.

[233] Ibid., 11.

[234] Ibid., 12.

[Inner Horde]

613 called ata-bala. An important acculturative note in
[177.61] this connection is that taifa[1] is of Arabic origin, introduced into the Turkic social organisation through the intermediation of Islam.[235] The term ata-bala is a binome composed of the words for father and for child, thus indicating the indigenous conception of the patrilineal
[614] descent principle. The clan had disappeared in the Inner Hordes by the 1880's, the clan uran was for-
[422] gotten, together with the clan cattle-brand or tamga. These tamga were not property marks, they were clan signs.[236] Lineages had come to take over clan functions, becoming the named units to which people attributed membership, with their cries and brands. On the other hand, many clans might be combined into one unit.[237] by the process of fusion.

177.61 The clan had become an administrative unit under
614 the Khan, who in turn was in the Russian service; the clan leader was selected by the central administration. The clan was no longer collectively responsible for the debts of a member as it had been in previous times ac-
614 cording to Kharusin's report. On the other hand, the clan had been the unit of exogamy as late as 1816, when

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[235] Radlov, Opyt Slovaria, s.v. taifa,

[236] Kharusin, Bukeev Orda, column 48.

[237] Ibid., 41-43.

1 [i.e. a "lineage" of the Inner Horde; cf. cat. 116, AHI Mongolia, p496, bot. -- Analyst]

[Inner Horde]

614 619 601 where part of the gifts were made over to the chief of the Alim-uli. The reasons given by Kharuzin for clan [177.61] decline generally, 1A as part of the acculturation picture, are: administrative changes imposed by the Russians, the growth of sedentary agriculture, and the consequent loss of nomadic pastoralism.[240]

613 564 The lineage was the exogamic unit in the 1880's, and leadership of the lineage passed to the eldest son. However, it might rest temporarily with the first or senior wife until the eldest son came of age; here again seniority was operative, among the wives as well as among the sons.[241] There is regrettably no indication of the number of generations in establishing an exogamic unit among the Kazakhs of the Inner Horde.

565 The standard composition of the noble estate is: the ak sŭök descended from Chingis Khan, and the Islamic leaders among the Kazakhs, called Khodja. They were [177. formerly free from tax and tribute, but with the advent 56] of the Russians were so no longer. However, they were not subject to the judgments of the biis, and hence had a kind of legal immunity. The other component of the white bone was the Khodja, i.e., Kazakhs who, by a genealogical fiction, traced their descent from Mohammed.[242]

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[240] Kharuzin, op. cit., cols. 45-47.

[241] Ibid., 110.

[242] Ibid., 47-52.

1A [cf. cat. 11b, AHI Mongolia, p. 496 ff.--Ed.]

601 614 sub-lineage.[261] It will be noted that the founder of the Sargaldak sub-lineage is in the eighth ascending generation from the genealogist, which is exactly one generation higher than the number of generations in the exogamic unit among these Kazakhs. This calls for a further word.

613 According to the findings of Rudenko, Samoilovich, et al, a unit such as the descent group from Ergenekti was a clan, ruu, among these northeastern Kazakhs.[1] The descendants of Karatai, Ergenekti's grandson, excluding the descendants of the other grandsons of Ergenekti, formed Karatai's byr top, the major lineage. These major lineages in turn were divided into sub-lineages (or bones), sŭŏk, of which the four above named comprised the Karatai byr top.[262] Just as were all other patrilineal descent groups among the Kazakh and elsewhere on the steppe, the ruu, the byr top, and the sŭŏk were internally differentiated by the order of birth of the founder. The sŭŏk might in turn be comprised of a number of ata (forebears, literally Pa Pa).[263]

In a general way, the sŭŏk corresponded to the exogamic unit embodied in Rudenko's seven generations or degrees of remove in the male descent line; such might

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[261] Ibid., 307.

[262] Rudenko, 1930, 59.

[263] Samoilovich, 308-309.

1 [Cf. cat. 116, AHI Mongolia, p. 527 ff.--Amelyot]

613 have been the statement, for example, of Cham, M. Chamov's father. Chamov himself would have to marry outside his ata, those who shared with him a common ancestor in the ascending paternal line in the person of Sary, the son of Sargaldak, the sŏŏk founder; Sary was the founder of the ata in question, he being in the seventh ascending generation from Chamov. However, it would be dangerous to infer a universal rule from these data, for we have seen that the exogamic principle has been subject to considerable variation throughout the steppe, and among the Kazakhs as well.

613 177.61 563 A number of marks of acculturation are to be observed in the genealogy and commentaries on it.[1] First of all, the concept of the sŏŏk has changed: no longer is there a distinction between ak sŏŏk and kara sŏŏk;[2] whatever social distinction there was, was made between rich and poor Kazakhs, on the basis of wealth and not of birth; Rudenko's comment that family and social life among the Kazakhs was very archaic and conservative in form[264] to the contrary notwithstanding. Again, a Russian system of patronymics was instituted, whereby the Kazakh Chamov was called thus because his father bore the name Cham, thus establishing a system of family names which had never existed before. A follow-up ethnography would probably show a considerable rigidifica-

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[264] Rudenko, op. cit., 66.

[1] [Cf. cat. 116, AHI Mongolia, p. 527 ff. -- Analyst]

[2] [i.e. nobles and commoners. Cf. cat. 116, AHI Mongolia, pp. 500-501 -- Analyst]

613 177.4 565

tion of the structural outlines, a loss of fluidity which can best be shown by examining units smaller than the lineage, such as the village and family.

614 422

The chaotic situation in which the larger descent groups found themselves in by the 1920's--aside from the rigidification of the structural principles--may be seen in the loss of the clan war-cry and cattle-brand. The war-cry or uran now appertained not to the clan, but to the entity which has been identified as the major lineage or byr top. The cattle markings, which were literally ear-marks, tamga, cut into the cattle's ear, were distributed by component sub-lineages or sŏök, of the byr top.[265]

613 177.61 601 [631]

Acculturative influences, both economic and political in manifestation, have acted to deprive the Kazakh clan and lineage of many functions. Administratively, the Kazakhs were now settled, in a hierarchy of Russian units, the uezd, the okrug, the volost'. These have remained to this day, with the exception of the volost'. Residence and the distribution of camps, pasturages, etc., have come to be reckoned by administrative units, such as the uezd among these Kazakhs, and one of the incidental effects of acculturation has been the sharpening of the dŭien relation.[1] This has taken the following form: In the Altai district (okrug),

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[265] Samoilovich, 310-311.

[1] [cf. cat. 116, AHI Mongolia, p. 509ff.--Anal, st]

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one of the uezdy is the Karkaralinsk, occupied in the main by the Shorkarakesek lineage, and with a minority from another lineage, the Karaul. These Karaul members are settled likewise in three other uezdy. Now the descent is still agnatic primarily, and residence is patrilocal. Nevertheless, one of the Karaul sub-lineages reckoned its descent through the daughters of the sub-lineage founder, one Botyshor, and are known as the Botyshor džien (Botyshor's daughter's sons). They live among the Karaul lineage, not among their patrilineal kinsmen who would have been Botyshor's kuyeu (Da Hu). These džien nevertheless preserved their patrilineal affiliations, at least in the reckoning of kinship.[266]

Significantly, group membership is determined now by administrative district in which one dwells or one's group dwells. This in itself has had the consequence of extending the džien relationship to a field where it had not been remarked before: in addition to various functions related to inheritance and the distribution of the parental estate, and to the paying of the kalym or bridewealth, the džien relation is now seen to be a means for establishing residence, descent, the occupation of common pasturage, etc. A sub-lineage such as the Botyshor džien asserted their right through kinship with the Mo Fa to dwell and nomadize with, or at least in the

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[266] Rudenko, op. cit., 59.

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same district with, their cognatic kinsmen. This does not mean that descent has come to be traced bilaterally; it is necessary to differentiate, for the purposes of this analysis, between bilateral and cognatic descent and kinship. Except for the lacuna of one generation, that necessary to establish the relationship with the Mo Fa line, descent is still reckoned patrilineally, and the džien likewise maintain their own agnatic relationships; although how long the latter will survive if they are not closely correlated with actual functions is questionable. From all this, it may be concluded that the extension of the džien relationship to the residence and pasturage unit is a consequence of acculturation, and not a spelling out of innate dynamics of Kazakh development. Nevertheless it is consonant with tendencies already set in motion, at least in the 19th century if not earlier, to assign ever wider functions to the džien, a nonagnatic relationship.

613 Lineages continued to change place of residence and fuse with other lineages in the 1920's, forming a sub-lineage sŭŏk among other component sŭŏk of a byr top (major lineage) and retain its original name. Thus, for instance, a group of Argun Kazakhs moved in among the Karatai byr-top of the Erganekti ruu of the Naiman division of the Middle Horde. These Argun continued to be identified as such, that is, the sub-lineage which they now formed was known by that name, but they

[Altai Kazakhs]

613 would also be known by the name of the Karatai sŏŏk with which they have been fused. These Argun sub-lineage members form an exogamic unit, offering daughters as wives to other sŏŏk of the Karatai byr top and receiving wives in turn. Again, sub-lineages were formed by descendants of slaves taken from the Torguts, the Kalmuk, the Uriankhai, the Teleut, now fully incorporated. Thus, another sŏŏk of the Karatai was the Sumar sŏŏk, descended from a slave named Sumar captured from the Kalmuk.[267] Lineages may extend their membership, incorporate members of other corporate entities, whether Kazakh lineages, hordes, or non-Kazakh nomadic groups such as the Kalmuk, including the admission to lineage membership of the line of freed slaves; the numerical significance of this principle is not to be underestimated because of the large proportion of people taken in war, raid, etc., and set free to dwell among the captors. Lineage fusion, individual adoption and admission of freed slaves are means, other than through birth, of extending the lineage rolls.

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The Aul of the Altai Kazakhs

621 Data on village life of the Middle Horde Kazakhs of the Altai are remarkable for their detail. The nomads

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[267] Rudenko, op. cit., 59-60.